

Message Text

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CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 13740

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, JA

SUBJ: ANTI-WAR DAY AND POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENTIAL
VISIT

SUMMARY: WHILE SCOPE OF OCT 21 ANTI-WAR DAY ACTIVITIES UNDERSCORES CAPABILITY OF POLITICAL LEFT TO ORGANIZE SIGNIFICANT OPPOSITION MOVEMENT AGAINST PRESIDENT'S VISIT, AS OF NOW INDICATIONS REMAIN THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES ARE LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE WITHIN POLITICALLY TOLERABLE LIMITS AND WILL NOT POSE A SECURITY THREAT. SIZE OF TURNOUT FOR ANTI-WAR DAY RALLIES DEMONSTRATES THAT WHILE NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROVERSY HAS GIVEN LEFTIST OPPOSITION ISSUE TO USE AS RALLYING POINT, GROUNDSWELL OF PUBLIC REACTION ON ISSUE IS NOT YET IN EVIDENCE. MOREOVER, OPPOSITION PARTIES, EMPHASIZING OPPOSITION TO (NOT BLOCKING) PRESIDENTIAL VISIT, ARE ENCOUNTERING VARIETY OF OBSTACLES IN BUILDING MASS MOVEMENT BY NOVEMBER 18. OVERALL, WHILE ACTIVITIES OPPOSING VISIT ARE CERTAINLY, BARRING MAJOR CHANGE IN SITUATION, THEIR IMPACT DOES NOT SEEM LIKELY TO OFFSET POSTIVIVE ASPECTS OF PRESIDENT'S
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JAPAN TRIP. END SUMMARY.

1. WITH SPONSORS CLAIMING NATION-WIDE TURNOUT OF 2.3 MILLION PARTICIPANTS AND POLICE ESTIMATING 290,000, OCTOBER 21 INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR DAY ACTIVITIES CONSISTED OF FAMILIAR ROUND OF RALLIES AND DEMONSTRATION PARADES IN APPROXIMATELY 450 LOCATIONS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT JAPAN. THEY ALSO INCLUDED BRIEF WORK STOPPAGES AND SLOWDOWNS BY RAILROAD WORKERS AND OTHER UNIONISTS. ACTIVITIES WERE JOINTLY ORGANIZED BY JSP, JCP, KOMEITO, SOHYO, CHURITSU ROREN AND NUMBER OF ASSOCIATED GROUPS AND BUILT PRIMARILY AROUND PROTESTS AGAINST ALLEGED U.S. INTRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS INTO JAPAN AND AGAINST FORTHCOMING PRESIDENTIAL VISIT. DEMONSTRATORS WERE WELL BEHAVED AND, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE SOME MINOR SKIRMISHES BETWEEN STUDENTS AND POLICE, DAY PASSED WITHOUT SERIOUS INCIDENTS.

2. CENTER OF ATTENTION FOR MOST POLITICAL OBSERVERS WAS TOKYO ANTI-WAR DAY RALLY, WHERE SPONSORS HAD PROMISED TO MUSTER 100,000 PEOPLE FOR MEIJI PARK MEETING AND DEMONSTRATION PARADE. EVENTUALLY CLAIMING THAT 70,000 SHOWED UP, THEY ENDED DAY CHALLENGING ESTIMATES BY POLICE WHO SAID NUMBER WAS ONLY 30,000. AT RALLY, SOHYO CHAIRMAN, SECRETARIES-GENERAL OF JSP, JCP AND KOMEITO, AND OTHER SPEAKERS CONDEMNED ALLEGED INTRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, DENOUNCED PRESIDENT'S VISIT AS DEVICE TO STRENGTHEN U.S.- JAPAN - ROK MILITARY ALLIANCE AND DEMANDED ABOLITION OF SECURITY TREATY. THEY ALSO ATTACKED TANAKA ADMINISTRATION FOR COMPLICITY IN U.S. ACTIONS AND STRATEGY, FOR ITS FAILURE TO CHECK INFLATION, ON ITS KOREAN POLICY AND ON SEVERAL OTHER COUNTS. ALL OF THESE POINTS WERE INCLUDED IN A SERIES OF RESOLUTIONS AND CENTRAL RALLY DECLARATION WHICH CONCLUDED WITH PLEDGE TO REMOVE NUCLEAR BASES FROM JAPAN, OPPOSE PRESIDENT'S VISIT, CHANGE KOREAN POLICY AND SUPPORT PEOPLES OF INDOCHINA.

3. ONE NOTEWORTHY ASPECT OF TOKYO RALLY WAS THAT FOR FIRST TIME KOMEITO FORMALLY JOINED JSP, JCP AND SOHYO IN OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENT'S VISIT. LIKE CONFRERES, KOMEITO SECGEN YANO CHARACTERIZED PRESIDENT'S VISIT AS AIMED AT STRENGTHENING US-JAPAN MILITARY ALLIANCE.

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4. AS BENCHMARK FOR DETERMINING STRENGTH OF OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT, ANTI-WAR DAY RESULTS WERE SOMEWHAT INCONCLUSIVE. NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS NATIONWIDE, ALTHOUGH FALLING SHORT OF SPONSOR EXPECTATIONS, WAS DEFINITELY GREATER THAN FOR OTHER ANTI-WAR DAY ACTIVITIES IN RECENT YEARS (91,000 IN 1973). WHILE SUCH PARTICIPATION NO DOUBT REFLECTS RESULT OF EXTENSIVE OPPOSITION ORGANIZATIONAL

EFFORTS, IT ALSO APPEARS TO INDICATE CERTAIN DEGREE OF RESPONSIVENESS TO NUCLEAR ISSUE. AT SAME TIME, GIVEN GRANDIOSE SPONSOR PREDICTIONS AND WHAT WOULD HAVE SEEMED TO BE EMOTION-GENERATING POTENTIAL OF LARACQUE TESTIMONY, FILURE OF OPPOSITION TO MARSHALL GREATER NUMBERS AND QUIET MANNER IN WHICH DAY PASSED SEEM TO INDICATE THAT DESPITE HEAVY PRESS PLAY AND AGITATION BY POLITICAL GROUPS, NO MAJOR GROUNDSWELL OF PUBLIC INDIGNATION, AGAINST EITHER ALLEGED NUCLEAR WEAPONS INSTRODUCTION OR PRESIDENTIAL VISIT, HAS THUS FAR DEVELOPED.

5. WITH ANTI-WAR DAY BEHIND THEM, OPPOSITION PARTIES (LESS DSP WHICH SUPPORTS VISIT) HAVE SET NOVEMBER 18 AS NEXT MAJOR TARGET DATE IN CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRESIDENT'S JAPAN VISIT. AIMING AT NATION-WIDE PROTEST ACTIVITIES ON THAT DAY, IN INTERIM THEY PLAN CONCERTED PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, HOLDING OF CONFERENCES AND RALLIES, AND DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL MOVEMENTS. SOMEWHAT DISENGENUOUSLY, IT SEEMS, THEY CLAIM THAT RESULTANT MOVEMENT WILL BE ON SAME SCALE AS 1960 ANTI-SECURITY TREATY CAMPAIGN WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S VISIT WAS CANCELLED. HOWEVER, IN ADDITION TO FACT THAT CIRCUMSTANCES OF 15 YEARS AGO AND PRESENT ARE VERY DIFFERENT, POINT MERITING ATTENTION IS THAT THUS FAR ALL OPPSOTIION PARTIES ARE EMPHASIZING OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENT'S VISIT RATHER THAN DETERMINATION TO BLOCK IT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 13740

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6. WHILE JCP IS OPPOSED TO VISIT PER SE, JSP AND ESPECIALLY KOMEITO, WHICH ORIGINALLY DID NOT INTEND TO PARTICIPATE, HAVE ENTERED ANTI-VISIT CAMPAIGN BELATEDLY, AND ARE INCLINED TO LAY EMPHASIS ON NUCLEAR QUESTION RATHER THAN ON VISIT ITSELF. WITHOUT LAROCQUE TESTIMONY JSP PROBABLY AND KOMEITO CERTAINLY WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN STAND AGAINST PRESIDENT'S TRIP HERE.

7. IN ADDITION TO BRAKING FORCE OF THIS KIND OF QUALIFIED PARTICIPATION BY TWO OF THREE INVOLVED OPPOSITION PARTIES, OTHER FACTORS APPEAR TO INHIBIT BUILDUP OF ALL-OUT DRIVE AGAINST VISIT. FACT THAT DIET IS NOT IN SESSION DENIES ORGANIZERS IMPORTANT PROPAGANDA FORUM. MOREOVER, RANK-AND-FILE UNIONISTS ARE REPORTEDLY PREOCCUPIED WITH PROBLEMS OF INFLATION AND WAGE STRUGGLES AND ARE LITTLE INTERESTED IN ANTI-FORD MOVEMENT. FINALLY, POPULAR REACTION TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONTROVERSY, WHILE SIGNIFICANT, HAS NOT BEEN NEARLY SO INTENSE AS WOULD HAVE SEEMED LIKELY. MANY INFORMED CONTACTS HAVE EXPRESSED TO EMBASSY VIEW THAT LAROCQUE TESTIMONY MERELY CONFIRMED WHAT PEOPLE AL-

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READY SUSPECTED AND THEREFORE WAS NOT PARTICULARLY VOLATILE ISSUE.

8. WHILE RADICAL STUDENT GROUPS CONTINUE TO HAVE POTENTIAL FOR CONDUCTING MORE VIOLENT PROTEST ACTIVITIES APART FROM OR ON PERIPHERY OF LARGER PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS, THEY ARE ALSO STILL DIVIDED BY LONG-STANDING INTERNAL QUARRELS. (AS RECENTLY AS OCTOBER 16 ONE STUDENT FACTION MEMBER WAS KILLED IN CLASH WITH MEMBERS OF ANOTHER FACTION). THIS DISUNITY, PREOCCUPATION WITH DOMESTIC ISSUES, AND THEIR LIMITED NUMBERS GREATLY REDUCE (BUT DO NOT ELIMINATE) THEIR ABILITY TO PROVOKE INCIDENTS POLITICALLY EMBARRASSING TO PRESIDENT. RADICAL STUDENT ACTIVITIES, LIKE THOSE OF FAR LEFT GUERRILA GROUPS, ARE MORE PROPERLY VIEWED AS SECURITY PROBLEMS RATHER THAN POLITICAL PROBLEMS. POLICE STILL SEEM CONFIDENT THESE PROBLEMS MANAGEABLE.

9. ONE FINAL ELEMENT WHICH COULD INFLUENCE PUBLIC SENTIMENT CONCERNING PRESIDENT'S VISIT IS, OF COURSE, NEWS MEDIA. WHILE GIVING HEAVY AND NOT VERY HELPFUL PLAY TO NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROVERSY IN RECENT WEEKS, NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION COMMENTATORS HAVE AVOIDED EDITORIAL COMMENT ON PRESIDENT'S TRIP. SINCE PAPERS GENERALLY SUPPORTED VISIT WHEN IT WAS

FIRST ANNOUNCED, CRITICAL COMMENTARY WOULD REQUIRE COMPLETE ABOUT FACE AND THIS SEEMS RATHER UNLIKELY, AT THIS MOMENT.

10. IN SUM, AS DEMONSTRATED BY ANTI-WAR DAY ACTIVITIES, OPPOSITION FORCES ARE NOW CAPABLE OF ORGANIZING SUBSTANTIAL OPPOSITION MOVEMENT AGAINST PRESIDENT'S VISIT - CAPABILITY LARGELY OWING TO NUCLEAR ISSUE GENERATED BY LAROCQUE TESTIMONY. AT SAME TIME, NEITHER THAT ISSUE NOR PRESIDENT'S VISIT HAVE EXCITED WIDESPREAD, ACTIVE, PUBLIC REACTION OR BROAD SUPPORT FOR OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. THEREFORE, WHILE OPPOSITION ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AGAINST VISIT ARE CERTAINLY, PRESENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT THEY ARE LIKELY TO BE PEACEFUL (WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF STUDENT FORAYS) AND OF MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS. OF COURSE, UNANTICIPATED EVENTS OR HOSTILE PRESS COULD INFLUENCE PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN UNFAVORABLE DIRECTION. HOWEVER, RIGHT NOW DEVELOPMENT OF OPPOSITION CAMPAIGN SEEMS UNLIKELY TO OFFSET POSITIVE
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ASPECTS OF PRESIDENTIAL VISIT.
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